



## Framing of Government Budget and Hospitality Industry Issues in Mass Media: Political Communication Analysis

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### ABSTRACT

This study analyzes how the mass media frames the issue of government budget efficiency and its impact on the hotel industry in Indonesia. This issue emerged after the issuance of Presidential Instruction No. 1 of 2025 and a circular from the Ministry of Finance that cut state spending by IDR 306.69 trillion. This cut had a major impact on the service sector, especially hotels, which experienced a decline in occupancy and a wave of layoffs. The study employed a qualitative approach, utilizing Robert Entman's framing analysis method, on four articles from Kompas.id, Infobanknews.com, MetroTVnews.com, and Detik.com. The results show differences in defining problems, determining causes, providing moral judgments, and offering solutions. The media not only shapes public perception, but also becomes an arena for the contestation of meaning over state policies

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Changes in national leadership are often crucial moments in restructuring the direction of state policy. The beginning of 2025 marked a new chapter in the Indonesian government, when Prabowo Subianto was officially inaugurated as President of the Republic of Indonesia. Despite the change in president, several strategic positions in the cabinet, including Finance Minister Sri Mulyani Indrawati, were retained. This shows continuity in fiscal policy, but also opens up space for new interpretations in adjusting state spending priorities. One of the major policies that emerged at the beginning of the new government was a massive cut in the national budget. The government issued Presidential Instruction (Inpres) Number 1 of 2025, which emphasized the importance of efficiency and effectiveness of state spending to support national priority programs, such as free nutritious meals for school students. Along with that, the Ministry of Finance issued a circular letter S-37/MK.02/2025 as a technical guideline for implementing budget efficiency, which was signed directly by the Minister of Finance Sri Mulyani on January 24, 2025. Overall, the government is targeting efficiency of IDR 306.69 trillion from the total APBN and APBD in force (Wafa, 2025).

This cut targets various spending items that are considered non-urgent, such as office stationery which was cut by 90%, printing and souvenirs which were cut by 75.9%, to spending on building rentals, vehicles, and equipment which was reduced by 73.3%. In fact, spending on official travel, meeting activities, consulting services, studies, and activity honorariums were also affected by rationalization with a cut figure ranging from 40% to 60%. This step, according to Sri Mulyani at the Financial System Stability Committee Meeting in early 2025, aims to make the APBN more targeted and efficient, adjusting to fiscal conditions and long-term development needs. However, behind the urgency of efficiency and siding with priority programs, this decision has drawn various responses from the private sector, including the hotel and tourism industry, which has struggled to recover since the pandemic. This industry is directly affected by the budget cut policy, especially in the form of reducing ceremonial activities, meetings, seminars, and government agency travel – activities that have been the main source of income for hotels in various regions. Several hotel associations have even voiced concerns that this policy will trigger another wave of layoffs and economic stagnation in the service sector, especially in cities that depend on government work visits for their economy.

This situation is interesting to study from the perspective of political communication and media framing analysis. The mass media plays an important role in building narratives that influence public opinion through the construction of reality (Hasbullah & Maella, 2025). The media not only functions to convey factual information, but also to shape social reality through the frames they use. In this context, the mass media plays an important role in interpreting the budget efficiency policy: is it perceived as a wise step for the future, or as a threat to the sustainability of the real sector? Each media has interests, political affiliations, and ideological orientations that influence the way they frame public issues. In reporting on budget cuts and their impact on the hotel industry, we can observe

differences in focus, narrative, and use of language that reflect each media's position towards the government. Some media emphasize the importance of efficiency for the sake of equality and social justice, while others highlight the inequality and economic losses caused to business actors. This is where the urgency lies in examining how framing is formed, who the dominant actors are, and which narratives are legitimized in the public sphere. Through a theoretical approach from Robert Entman, Pan & Kosicki, and Gamson & Modigliani, this study aims to reveal how media framing of the budget cut issue is carried out in the context of the political communication of the Prabowo government in the early period, and how it shapes public opinion about the relationship between fiscal policy and the fate of the hotel industry. Thus, this research not only offers a discourse review, but also a contribution to understanding the dynamics of power communication in the current digital era.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Framing and Political Communication*

News framing is a central concept in political communication, referring to how the media select and emphasize certain aspects of political issues, thereby shaping public perceptions and influencing political power dynamics (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Framing can highlight responsibility, conflict, human interests, economic consequences, or morality, and its prevalence varies by media type and media style, with serious news sources favoring responsibility and conflict framing, while sensational media focus more on human interests (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Framing is not simply a passive reflection of political events; it is actively constructed by journalists, political actors, and interest groups, each seeking to promote their preferred interpretations (Froehlich & Rüdiger, 2006). The way news is framed can lead to bias, often favoring one side in a political dispute, which in turn influences public opinion and the distribution of political power (Entman, 2007). Repeated exposure to a particular frame can strengthen and prolong its effects on political attitudes, especially among individuals with moderate political knowledge (Entman, 2010). Conflict frames, in particular, can increase political polarization by making party identities more salient (Lecheler et al., 2015). The interaction between media framing, agenda setting, and priming further amplifies these effects, underscoring the media's role in shaping not only what people think but also how they think about it (Scheufele, 2000). Ultimately, understanding framing is critical to analyzing how political communication strategies succeed or fail to influence media coverage and public opinion (Lecheler, 2019).

### *Framing Theory*

Framing theory explains how the way information is presented—or its “frame”—can shape public perceptions, attitudes, and behavior by emphasizing certain aspects of an issue while downplaying others (Scheufele, 1999). In media and political communication, framing involves the construction of a frame by a journalist or communicator (frame building) and the effect that frame has on an audience (frame setting), with a feedback loop between the two processes (Cacciatore et al., 2016). Unlike traditional persuasion, framing does not necessarily change beliefs, but it does influence which considerations are most

salient when people form opinions (Nelson et al., 1997). Frames can be issue-specific or generic, and can use figurative language such as metaphor, hyperbole, or irony to shape public discourse and understanding (Brugman et al., 2017). Research has shown that framing is central to debates in health communication, policy, and political science, influencing how issues such as cancer, vaccination, or policy controversies are understood and debated (Guenther et al., 2021). The field has evolved to recognize the importance of media frames and audience frames, and recent advances call for clearer conceptual distinctions and better research designs (de Vreese, 2012). Computational methods are now being used to identify and analyze frames in large-scale media content, further advancing the study of framing effects (Walter & Ophir, 2019). Overall, framing theory highlights the power of communication to shape not only what people think, but also how they think about complex social and political issues.

#### *Political Communication*

Political communication is the process of conveying political messages from political elites to the public in a reciprocal manner, so that the political messages conveyed receive the expected response, such as the occurrence of a democratic political decision-making process (Fsm, 2018). Political communication channels the aspirations and political interests of the community, which become input for the political system, and at the same time, political communication also conveys policies taken or issued by the political system (Fsm, 2018). The word "politics" is like communication, so politics is a process, and like communication, politics involves talking. This is not talking in the narrow sense of spoken words, but talking in a more inclusive sense, meaning all the ways people exchange symbols, written and spoken words, images, movements, postures, behavior, and clothing (Fsm & Jusnita, 2016).

#### *Relationships in research*

##### 1. Media as an Actor in Framing Public Policy

In political communication studies, mass media are not just a channel of information, but also play a role as an active actor in framing public policy. Goffman (1974) first introduced the concept of frame as a way for humans to understand social reality. In the context of public policy, the media has symbolic power to shape the public's frame of mind regarding strategic issues, including state budget efficiency policies. Entman (1993) explains that framing works through four main elements: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. Thus, how the media chooses words, actors, and narratives in conveying efficiency policies can significantly influence public perception of government steps. The media can strengthen, weaken, or even distort policy objectives depending on the narrative structure that is built. Pan and Kosicki (1993) emphasize that framing is carried out not only through message content, but also syntactic, thematic, script, and rhetorical structures. Therefore, when the media presents budget efficiency policies such as cutting travel, stationery, and consulting services, the method of delivery is not neutral – but is full of choices of representation that have ideological impacts.

## 2. Framing and Formation of Public Perception of the Hospitality Sector

Media framing has major implications for public perception, especially for affected sectors such as the hospitality industry. As part of the service economy, the hospitality sector is highly dependent on government activities such as meetings, seminars, and official travel. When the media frames budget cuts as policies that sacrifice business actors, the narrative that is formed will tend to create an image of the government as a party that is “not pro-SME” or “sacrificing strategic sectors”. According to McCombs and Shaw (1972) in agenda-setting theory, the media not only tells the public what to think, but also how to think about it. By framing the issue as “a loss for the hospitality sector”, the media can shape public opinion that government budget efficiency is contrary to national economic interests. Gamson and Modigliani (1987) added that the media uses framing packages containing metaphors, symbols, and dominant narratives to direct readers to certain interpretations. If the frame used is emotional or dramatic, such as “hotels are quiet because the country is frugal”, then public opinion will tend to adopt a negative attitude towards the efficiency policy.

## 3. Contestation of Meaning between Government and Media

This study also shows that public policy issues are not only contested in the technocratic realm, but also in the symbolic and narrative realm. The government and the mass media compete in framing the meaning of budget efficiency policies. In this context, what is called frame contestation occurs, which is when two or more social actors try to dominate the meaning of the same issue (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The government, through press conferences and official statements, tries to frame the policy as an efficiency effort for the sake of national interests and priority programs such as free nutritious meals. On the other hand, the media can raise the voices of the hotel industry, business associations, and affected workers as counter-narratives that highlight the negative effects of the policy. According to the theory of media hegemony by Gitlin (1980), the media often reflects elite interests, but in certain cases—especially when the issue concerns broad economic impacts—the media can act as an arena for discourse contestation. In this study, it is seen that media framing is not entirely subject to the official government narrative, but rather forms its own narrative that can potentially change the direction of public opinion. This is where political communication plays a crucial role: the government's strategy in explaining and legitimizing policies is tested by the power of media discourse that reaches a wide audience.

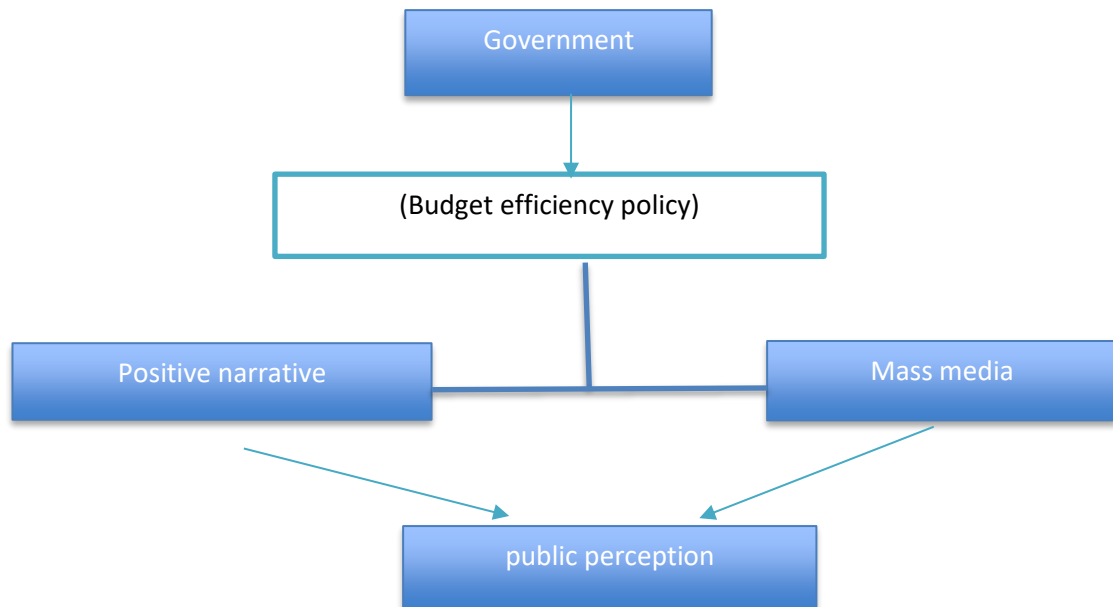


Figure 1 Conceptual Framework

## METHODOLOGY

In this study, the researcher used a qualitative method (Indrapuspita et al., n.d.). Qualitative methods involve a fairly complex process (Sasongko et al., 2025). This study uses a qualitative approach with a content analysis method based on framing theory to understand how the mass media frames the issue of government budget cuts and their impact on the hotel industry, especially in the context of political communication. The main focus of the study is to explore the representation of the issue through four news articles published by four national online media portals that have different editorial characteristics, namely Kompas.id, Infobanknews.com, MetroTVnews.com and Detik.com Jateng. The four articles were selected purposively, considering factors of relevance, diversity of media perspectives, and representation of different framing of the budget cut policy based on Presidential Instruction Number 1 of 2025 and its impact on the service industry such as hotels. The selection was made on articles published in the period from January to May 2025, namely the initial period of the implementation of the budget efficiency policy by the administration of President Prabowo Subianto and Minister of Finance Sri Mulyani. Data collection was carried out through documentation methods, namely archiving and critical reading of selected news texts. The analysis was carried out using Robert Entman's framing theory which includes four elements: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. In addition, this study also refers to the Pan and Kosicki approach which pays attention to the syntactic, script, thematic, and rhetorical aspects of the news text structure, as well as elements from Gamson and Modigliani which emphasize the use of metaphors, narratives, and symbols in shaping public opinion. The analysis was carried out descriptively-interpretively, by comparing the differences and similarities in framing between the four media. The researcher examined how each media positioned government actors, budget cutting

policies, and the hotel industry as objects in the constructed political discourse. The main emphasis lies on how the government's political communication strategy is represented in media discourse, as well as how the media articulates the narrative to the public. Although the number of articles is limited, the validity of the analysis is maintained through the selection of diverse editorial sources and contextual in-depth study of the contents of the news text. With a focused and in-depth scope, this study aims to provide an overview of how the media frames government policies in relation to the interests of the industrial sector and public opinion in the era of digital political communication.

## **RESEARCH RESULT**

The budget efficiency policy issued through Presidential Instruction Number 1 of 2025 is a new milestone in state financial management. This step has attracted widespread attention, not only from government institutions and policy observers, but also from the economic sector that has been directly related to the state operational budget—especially the hotel industry. Tightening the budget for travel expenses, meetings, venue rentals, and consulting services has had a real impact on hotel occupancy and MICE (Meeting, Incentive, Convention, Exhibition) activities. In this context, the mass media plays a role as an information intermediary as well as a perception shaper. The way the media constructs narratives about budget efficiency is not a neutral act. Every word, title, quote, and metaphor chosen implies a certain point of view—is this policy understood as the right step, or as a threat to the stability of the service sector? To illustrate how the media frames this policy, this study analyzes four articles from four different national online media. The analysis was conducted using Entman's (1993) framing theory approach, which includes four elements: define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. Each article is mapped to see how the meaning of efficiency policy is constructed and communicated to the public.

Table 1. Findings

No	Media	Framing Characters	Critical Focus	Policy Suggestions
1	Kompas.id	Critical-socio-economic	Labor & UMKM services	MICE subsidies or incentives & liberalization
2	Infobanknews.com	Objective-technocratic	Data is decreasing and the need for a special strategy	Tourism support strategies
3	MetroTVnews.com	Empathic-progressive	Social impact and collaboration	Central-local government collaboration and MICE adaptation
4	Detik.com Jateng	Alarmistic-critical	Mass layoffs & sector downturn	Involve IHGMA & relax regulations

The four media provide similar narratives about the main problem (Define Problem): the hotel industry is sluggish due to budget efficiency. However, the way they explain the cause (Diagnose Cause), assess the morality of the policy (Moral Judgment), and offer solutions (Suggest Remedies) shows quite rich variations. Kompas.id and Detik.com focus on social and labor issues, while Infobanknews is more technical and factual. MetroTVnews combines empathy and pragmatism. With the Entman model approach, it is clear how selection and salience are used to emphasize different aspects: statistical data, economic impact, social pressure, or policy solutions. The framing character of each media reflects a unique editorial orientation, while also showing the existence of a space for narrative contestation between the technocratic government and the affected service industry.



Table 2. Media Framing Analysis of Budget Efficiency Issues and the Hospitality Industry (Entman Model)

N o	Media & News Titles	Define Problem	Diagnose Cause	Moral Judgment	Suggest Remedies	Karakter Framing
1	<b>Kompas.id</b> “Mengapa Banyak Pekerja Hotel Dirumahkan pada 2025” (Redaksi, 2025)	Star hotel occupancy declines by 38% in March 2025	Cutting back on government service activities as the main source of hotel revenue	The government is considered to be neglecting the fate of hotel workers and MSMEs	Incentives , dialogue with industry and easing of MICE activities are needed	Socio-economic critical
2	<b>Infobanknews.com</b> “BPS Catat Tingkat Hunian Hotel Berbintang Turun di Awal 2025” (Irawati, 2025)	BPS data shows a 9.68% decline in hotel occupancy	Budget efficiency suppresses MICE activities	Neutral and technocratic, without emotional opinions	Government strategy needed to support tourism sector	Strategic objectives
3	<b>MetroTVnews.com</b> “Efisiensi Anggaran Bikin Industri Perhotelan Lesu” (Febriari, 2025)	Hotel industry weakens due to extreme efficiency	Cutting government travel and meeting expenses	There is concern; criticism of the government's lack of awareness of the social impact	The government needs to selectively reactivate MICE	Progressive empathy
4	<b>Detik.com Jateng</b> “Hotel Lesu Dampak Efisiensi Anggaran Pemerintah,	Mass layoffs of 25% of	Budget efficiency, cutting	Criticism of technocratic	Ask the local government	Critical alarmism

	IHGMA: Mirip Masa COVID-19" (NV, 2025)	hotel workers, situation likened to pandemi c	governme nt meetings or seminars	c approaches without social empathy	nt to hold events again & involve hotels in policies	
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### *Comparative Analysis of Media Framing*

#### 1. Similarity in Framing (Define Problem & Diagnose Cause):

All media agree that government budget efficiency is the root cause of the decline in hotel industry activity. The issues raised are uniform: declining hotel occupancy rates, cuts in government agency activities, and the subsequent effects of layoffs or decreased income for hotel industry players.

#### 2. Differences in Moral Judgment:

- Kompas.id and Detik.com firmly raise the humanitarian and social side, with an emphasis on the fate of workers and the similarity of this condition to the COVID-19 pandemic.
- MetroTVnews.com takes a moderate position with empathy, conveying criticism that still opens up space for collaboration between the government and industry players.
- Infobanknews.com takes a neutral and technocratic approach, conveying data and analysis without emotional opinions.

#### 3. Variety in Suggested Remedies:

- Kompas and Detik actively encourage policy reformulation: incentives, dialogue, and relaxation of government activities in hotels.
- MetroTV focuses on collaboration between actors (central-regional, public-private).
- Infobank emphasizes the need for long-term strategies and data-based policy solutions.

#### 4. Different Framing Characters:

- Critical-socio-economic (Kompas.id): Showing micro impacts on workers and MSMEs.
- Objective-strategic (Infobanknews.com): Data-oriented, maintaining neutrality.
- Empathic-progressive (MetroTVnews.com): Inviting collaboration and empathy between sectors.
- Alarmistic-critical (Detik.com Jateng): Highlighting urgency and urging rapid intervention.

Media framing of the budget efficiency issue shows that the media not only conveys information, but also constructs public perception of government policies. Through a variety of approaches—both empathetic, technocratic, critical, and alarmist—the media helps shape the collective meaning of the

impact of the policy. In the context of the hotel industry, this discourse construction shows a contestation of meaning between the narrative of state efficiency and the reality of the vulnerability of the service sector. Media with a critical and empathetic tendency function as a bridge for the voices of affected communities, while neutral media direct the discourse more towards long-term policy solutions. In the framework of political communication, this shows that the media plays an important role in mediating and articulating interests between the state and the private sector.

## DISCUSSION

In the context of this research, framing theory is used to understand how the media interprets and presents the reality of budget efficiency policies, especially their impact on the hotel industry. Robert Entman explains that framing includes four dimensions: defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting remedies (Entman, 2007). All four are visible in the way each media frame the budget efficiency issue. Media such as Kompas and Detik.com show framing that is problematizing government policies. They emphasize the social impacts, such as layoffs and declining income of hotel workers, so that the moral judgment dimension in framing becomes very prominent. On the other hand, media such as Infobank tend to be neutral and data-based. The framing used is more technocratic and informative. This shows that framing not only reflects media ideology but also a form of political communication that mediates between state logic and public expectations. In the framework of political communication, there is a competition of meaning between the government narrative (budget efficiency as a strategic and necessary step) and the media narrative (its impact on the service sector and socio-economy). Thus, the media is not only a message deliverer, but also a political actor that actively shapes public understanding.

## CONCLUSIONS

This study found that media framing of budget efficiency and the hotel industry issues forms a complex construction of reality. Although the source of the problem is acknowledged to be the same – government budget cuts – each media outlet presents a different framing, reflecting its values, perspectives, and editorial positions. Media such as Kompas.id and Detik.com strengthen critical and empathetic discourse towards affected groups, while Infobanknews.com and MetroTV present technocratic or moderate narratives. This pattern shows that media framing has an influence on public perception, and in turn can influence opinions on state policies. Using the Entman model analysis, it is seen that the media does not simply publish news, but actively chooses a certain perspective in shaping the meaning of the reality of public policy.

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